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- b) Since the middle of 1948, special agencies have been attached to the Personnel Bureaus of the PZHR to prevent the posting of non-Party individuals to key posts. This renders the selection of professional experts very difficult. The selection of candidates on the basis of their qualifications is a thing of the past.
- c) All directors of groups of estates (klucze majatkow) and administrators of the PZHR estates are good patriots. Most of them are former landowners, tenants, etc. and in only a few cases have former bailiffs or overseers been promoted to this kind of directorship, when their qualifications were suitable. The administrators of the PZHR maintain a rather distant attitude, and the lower the social origin of the individual employee, the greater distance does he keep from his subordinates. Former landowners are afraid of being "stand-offish" since they are especially exposed to denunciations. Those in charge of plant breeding are usually pre-war graduates of academic schools and even though they sometimes belong to the Party, they are eminently patriotic.

3) State Horse Breeding Institutions (Panstwowe Zaklady Chowni Koni - PZChK)

The few estates of this type are manned by first-rate experts. The more qualified the expert, the less chance there is of his being a Communist, especially in agriculture, where most of the experts are pre-war landowners.

4) Estates of the State Zootechnical Institute (Majatki Panstwowego Instytutu Zootechnicznego - P. Inst. Zoo.)

b. Semi-nationalized Estates ('polpanstwowe')

- 1) Estates of the Peasant Mutual Aid Union (Samopomoc Chlopska), i.e. experimental stations.
- 2) Estates belonging to universities, to municipalities, to local government bodies. University estates are manned by professionally well qualified staffs.
- 3) Estates belonging to factories, seed co-operatives, etc.

c. Estates in Process of Liquidation

This category includes those destined for parcellation among small-holders, those to be transferred to other institutions, and those under cooperative management.

- 1) Estates of the Voivodate Land Offices (Wojewodskie U.Z.)
- 2) Estates of the District Land Offices (Powiatowe U.Z.)

2. The Role of Nationalized Landed Property

a. State Landed Property - PNZ

The tasks of the PNZ are to feed the country and to produce a large quantity of standardized food products for export. Grain imports were stopped in 1948 and practically all land lying fallow in the western territories was under plough by this time.

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b. State Plant Culture Institutes - PZHR

- 1) The task of these institutes is to produce and test high grade seedling material (grades A, A1, A2 - Polish text : elita, super-elita and ss-elita). As late as 1948, this task was very far from being fulfilled. The men in charge of testing the seeds carried out their work very negligently, and the administrators of estates failed or refused to understand the purpose of plant seed selection. To give an example: the grade A1 (super-elita) of 'Vozan' potatoes sent to the estates contained up to 30 percent of other types of potatoes (probably 'Ostbode' variety). As 'ss-elita' variety sent from the Rajaczewo PZHR Estate proved to contain up to 80 percent of seedlings with a virus disease; the reason for this lay either in badly carried out tests or in the use of knives which had not been sterilized before the planting.
- 2) On frequent occasions, the administrators of the estates used high-grade selected seedling potatoes (obtained after detailed and costly testing and selection of potato fields) in distilleries, while peasants and other estates had to plant ungraded, untested, and possibly diseased seedlings.

c. State Horse Breeding Institutes - PZChK

Breeding of thoroughbred horses for breeding purposes in the neighborhood and outlying stud farms.

d. State Zoo-technical Institute - P. Inst. Zoo.

Breeding of cattle, sheep, pedigree poultry, etc.

3. The Role of Semi-nationalized Estates

a. These are concerned with the following activities:

- 1) Experimental stations, to study various soils and the acclimatization possibilities of varieties of plants. These stations are subordinate to the Peasant Mutual Aid Union.
- 2) Production of seeds (in competition with the PZHR) by the Seeds Cooperative.
- 3) Additional victualing of officials, the organizing of rest centers for them and, after the administration of the estates has been improved, the provision of a basic income.

b. These semi-nationalized estates are the property of factories, townships, local governments, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the various Ministries, etc. Some of them belong to the universities, and these are gradually becoming important research centers and places where students of agriculture can go to obtain experience in practical work.

4. Social Structure of the Villages

a. This consists of the following groups:

- 1) Farmhands (sluzba folwarczna)

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- 2) Individual peasants - poor
- 3) Individual peasants - average
- 4) Individual peasants - rich

This classification was introduced by Minc and Bierut.

- 5) Tenants

- 6) Administrators:

- a) Former land-owning class origin
- b) Party members
- c) Peasant origin
- d) Middle-class (civil service) origin

b. Farmhands (sluzba folwarczna)

According to the province and their pre-war position, the farmhands eagerly seized land, in many cases setting fire to country mansions (dwory), or, on the other hand, refused formal grants of land (akty nadania ziemi). It was this latter attitude which in many cases caused the creation of nationalized estates. Their attitude towards Mikolajczyk is one of indifference. If they join any political groups, it is the PPR or the PPS. At present, the part they play in nationalized estates is analogous to that played in factories by workers. The introduction of tractors and the different manner in which the personnel are treated are changing the big farm (folwerk) into a kind of factory as regards the professional and social aspect of the work. Politically the farmhands might be approached as individuals. In almost every village there is a Party member or even a non-Party member who acts as an informer for the authorities.

c. Individual Peasants - Poor

These are pleased that the competition of the landowners has disappeared; they are in favor of Mikolajczyk and are also pleased that the regime is now curtailing the competition of the more well-to-do peasants, who, for example, must now pay twice the fee for hiring a tractor to plough up one hectare of land - an increase introduced by Minc. The poor peasants are unproductive and most of them unfit for work. They are not threatened by collectivization, and even if collectivization were introduced, they would not be any the worse off.

d. Individual Peasants - Average

Despite Minc's division of peasants into three groups - the medium, average group does not really exist, as it is included partly in the "poor" and partly in the "rich" peasant class. The division into "poor", "average", and "rich" has no relation to the acreage of land owned by any of these groups. Minc stated that the classification of a peasant is not to be based on the acreage of his land; it is to be decided by the rural commune authorities and the Party. Minc said: "The peasant-exploiter can easily be recognized by the fact that he drives to church on Sundays in a carriage". Roughly speaking however, the "poor" are supposed to own up to four hectares, the "average" up to 9 hectares and the "rich" more than 9 hectares of land.

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e. Individual Peasants - Rich

These are the most ardent enemies of the former landed classes, most in favor of Mikolajczyk, and very hostile to the 1948 reforms. From having been supporters of the Government in 1945, they have gradually veered round to their present hostility. Some of them might even be willing to engage in active fighting.

f. Tenants

There are very few of these and most of them are experts in breeding who have been allowed to retain their pre-war land tenures because of the importance of their work. These individuals are the most apprehensive and therefore unfit to take any patriotic initiative, even though they are good patriots at heart and do not approve of, for economic reasons, either the 1945 or the 1948 reforms. They are not in favor of Mikolajczyk and refuse to take him seriously.

g. Administrators

- 1) Former landowners are hostile towards all reforms, good patriots, anti-Mikolajczyk, timid in action and speech.
- 2) Party members (even if they were formerly landowners) partially approve of the 1945 agrarian reforms, also partial collectivization. They do not like Mikolajczyk and have by now forgotten him. Some of them are good patriots but joined the Party to escape persecution.
- 3) Administrators of peasant origin deny their origin as soon as they can and admit it only when dealing with their official applications; they are very anxious to create a gulf between themselves and the farmhands, which often gives rise to abuses. They are in favor of large estates since they, as administrators, can dictate to their class. They do not recognize Mikolajczyk as a politician "because he is a peasant".
- 4) Those of middle-class origin regard the system of large estates as sensible and good economy. They have the mentality of townsfolk: they welcomed Mikolajczyk at the time they thought him to be the delegate of the London Polish Government. They are of the opinion that the present is not the time for action, even though they are expecting liberation through war which, allegedly, hangs in the air.

5. Influence of Origin. According to Province

The influence of the province of origin on the personal views and political allegiance of each farmer is tremendous, as there still exist serious differences in the attitude of the inhabitants of each of the three parts of Poland subjected to foreign domination. Thus, the inhabitants of the former German Partition have no experience in partisan warfare and no possibilities of hiding and assisting partisans. They loathe the Germans even more than they do the Russians; they are accustomed to loyalty towards the authorities; and they possess a higher percentage of Party members whose allegiance is disinterested and idealistic. On the other hand, it is difficult to assess the population of the Recovered Territories, which is mixed.

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6. Cooperative Farms

The first cooperative farms were created in Lower Silesia, on the initiative of volunteers [redacted] repatriates and to whom huge state credits were granted in order to start the few tens of farms (gospodarstwa) during 1948. The joint pioneer effort and the very quick economic achievements due to this availability of capital gave an entirely false perspective to these "neo-kolkhozniks".

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